1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

Names are transferred to boys through the matrilineal line, to girls through the patrilineal line. This contrasts with Apinayé usage, by which names are transferred from maternal uncle to sister's son and from maternal aunt to sister's daughter.[39] Normally the Canella name passes on to the next younger generation, but often one or even two generations are skipped and occasionally when the age difference is considerable the transfer may take place within a generation. The *ideal* arrangement is to have a maternal uncle convey his names to his nephew while the paternal aunt transfers hers to her niece. But of twenty-eight cases genealogically traced only five strictly conformed to this norm. The deviations result at least in part from the insistence on reciprocity. Unless the uncle has a daughter to whom his sister could pass on her own names, she would not permit the transfer of names to her son. Instead she would look for a more remote kinsman, with whom a *reciprocal* transfer could be arranged. The degree of kinship is often very remote in these name transfers. Adopted kindred are reckoned exactly as though they were blood kin in these negotiations. Pųkín transferred her name to the daughter of her adoptive brother, Hąktõkót; Tempe gave his to the son of his adoptive sister, Terekwę'i.

Copaternity has its effect in this respect. At Patkwei's birth her mother Kopkré indicated not only her husband, but also Hukraino as the infant's father because he had had extramarital relations with her during pregnancy. Accordingly both observed the couvade, and each considers himself Patkwei's father. In consequence Patkwei is the sister of Hukraino's legal son, Kroyamri, and passed on her name to his daughter, while Kroyamri gave *his* name to Patkwei's son. Similarly, at Pukara's birth, both Kokeet, her mother's husband, and Kokanara, who had been her paramour, kept the couvade. Pukara thus became the sister of Kokanara's son, Ropką', and passed her name on to his daughter.

As a rule a single donor transfers his names to a single recipient. But if the donor dies before passing on all his names, another person takes his place, now transferring his own names to the recipient. In this fashion several persons change their membership in the plaza groups or rainy season moieties or both. If an individual owns names of different sets, he almost always transfers those of one set to one recipient, the others to a second person. The recipient thus acquires once more names belonging together. A typical sample of this process is furnished by Yoro, who owned eight names belonging to three plaza groups and both rainy season moieties. He thus distributed them among four relatives:

Names	Plaza groups (w., western; e., eastern)	Rainy season moiety	Relatives
Yõ'ro	Dwarf Parrot (w)	atų'k	1
Ropką'	Ditto	atų'k	1
Põnipõ'k	Ditto	atų'k	2
Pąrkaéą'	Alien Tribe (w)	ką'	3
Hąktõkót	Giant Snake (e)	ką'	4
Tepkakrõ'	Ditto	ką'	4
Tepnót	Ditto	ką'	4
Vaurẽ'	Ditto	ką'	4

I found no case in which the same donor passed on ką' and atų'k names to the same kinsman; on the other hand, in three instances the same person passed on

[39] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 22.

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washed, but not painted. Now her husband joins her in the partitioned space, which neither parent leaves except for necessity until the navel string drops off. In less rigorous form the seclusion lasts for over a month after that—the Indians said, for two months altogether. However, in one case I determined the period by actual count as only forty-two days. Until the dropping of the navel cord the mother wears a burity cord reddened with urucú around her hips—possibly a reminiscence of the band worn by lying-in Apinayé women, who thereby try to avert the enervation of the abdominal wall.

The navel string that has dropped off is wrapped with cotton thread and stored by the mother in the gourd (p. 52; also pl. 14, *m*) containing urucú seeds for body paint. At about the age of four the child receives this package from his mother and deposits his navel cord in the hole of some sucupira tree on the steppe: thereby he will grow as tough as the sucupira itself.

Like all other persons in seclusion, the parents must not paint or decorate themselves, neither cut their hair nor scratch themselves with their fingers, substituting for the last purpose special little sticks. During the entire period they are limited to vegetable fare, maize—today rice also—being considered most fitting, as well as manioc flat cakes for the mother. Other forms of manioc are forbidden, as are gourds. In eating sweet potatoes the couple must not throw away the skins, but collect them in a basket and carry them behind the house. The father must not execute any hard work or otherwise exert himself in any fashion.

If a woman, whether single or ceremonially wedded, has had extramarital sex relations with one or more men during pregnancy, she ruthlessly names them all immediately after her delivery, when her husband retires with her behind the mat enclosure. This confession is in the child's interest, for these men must all go into retreat; no Indian, whether a bachelor or married man, would ever dare deny his copaternity, as it were, and shirk seclusion, which customarily takes place in his mother's home. When a wanton named Muruwá gave birth to her first child, four men were obliged to go into retirement, though judging from the comments passed this seemed "a bit thick" even to the natives. Otherwise no one is ashamed of copaternity, and several times when the parents of a person were under discussion some Indian would thrust himself forward unbidden, declaring, "I too, am his father!" As explained (p. 78), the relationships resulting from copaternity are assessed precisely like those due to legitimate paternity in our sense.

END OF SECLUSION

In the case of a girl baby, whose name would be derived from a patrilineal kinswoman, a patrilineal relative goes deer hunting; for a boy baby, who gets his name in the matrilineal line, a matrilineal kinsman must assume this duty.

When Patkwę'i gave birth for the first time, she had mentioned a man besides her husband as having to go into seclusion. When this period was over, her maternal uncle asked her husband to secure the game required. He killed a steppe deer, which was prepared in Patkwę'i's maternal home so as to furnish three meat pies. In the afternoon the rópkama, his age class, assembled at their plaza station while Patkwę'i was being washed behind her home, had her hair cut, and was decorated with urucú. Thus she went directly across the plaza to the house of her lover and with the words "Apukwur ne!" invited him to fetch his share. He straightway betook himself to her matrilineal dwelling, where he received a slice of meat pie, which he took to his mother. In the meantime Patkwę'i went from door to door round the boulevard—a formal presentation undertaken after any serious illness. There-

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

837 562 554 virgins; the group further comprises all divorcées and widows who do not as soon as possible enter another fixed union. Irrespective of those who were formerly wantons and subsequently became permanently married, Ponto has twelve to fifteen members of this class. They are not regarded as outcasts nor is their mode of life condemned as vicious. They arouse public displeasure only if they lure men away from their wives, and even then the man is held solely responsible. Privately and publicly the wantons are on a footing of equality in their relations with virgins and married women; they are simply not models and have certainly failed to live up to the ideal.

It took me considerable time to determine the identity of the wantons, for their behavior is devoid of impudence or boldness, even in talking with the bachelors of the tribe. To them, too, the Timbira principle applies that a man is helpless against a woman's aversion, so that there is no question of any coercion or of a wanton's obligation to yield to a man coveting her. On the contrary, they choose their lovers and, what is more, mostly in an extraordinarily discreet manner. Usually the wanton gets her brother to ask the young man she favors to bring her a piece of some game animal or something of the sort. If he consents, he immediately suggests through the intermediary a rendezvous at a specified spot in the steppe or the woods at a certain time. Thither he takes his gift and receives his reward.

837 585 Most of the wantons soon establish so permanent a relationship with their lovers as to create the impression of ceremonially wedded wives as soon as the man sleeps in her matrilineal home. Indeed, especially after the birth of children, they come to be regarded as such. So far as I was able to observe, this is even the most frequent form of union nowadays. Only a small minority fully exercise their right to take up with any man they wish. Such happenings as Von den Steinen describes for the Bororo[88] are not possible among the Timbirá.

The lovers supply their mistresses in the manner stated with gifts, especially victuals, but also with other objects. If the present is such as to be unsuitable for the girl, she will turn it over to her brother, who is usually cognizant of her amours and figures as her natural protector and counselor.

● [848] A pregnant wanton names all the men with whom she has had sexual relations during pregnancy, thus enabling them all to go into seclusion in the infant's interests (p. 107).

834 837 At present not a single wanton pays the least attention to moiety exogamy. My impression is that it was these wantons who first transgressed the rule and that people came to regard union with one of these girls as the normal form of matrimony.

DESIRE FOR CHILDREN

562 842 The more children parents have, the better they like it. Since there is sex equality neither boys nor girls are preferred. In 1936 six girls happened to be born one after the other, a circumstance that attracted general attention, but no unfavorable comment.

586 842 A man would leave the wife he had married as a virgin provided she proved barren. I do not know how far this was a mere pretext, for I know two childless couples who have not the least intention of separating for that reason.

782 In order to effect conception a woman breaks the egg of some bird, preferably that of a *Tinamus* species, and rubs the yolk on her body. Others invoke the sun: Smearing urucú on the palms of their hands, they go outside the village in the morning, raise their hands toward the rising sun and pray: "kedti! iymãiykra ño,

[88] Von den Steinen, Naturvölkern, 388 f.